2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

602 Any sibling of the grandparents was treated much like a grandparent, provided he lived in the home group. Many houses have several dependent old people of this sort addressed briefly as grandparent, without the suffix old man or old woman which indicates a grandparental sibling. In such a case, it is almost impossible to tell by behavior which is the grandparent and which a collateral.

The grandparents in the mother's line normally lived in another village and could be seen only on visits. But these visits might last a long time (I. 1) and also there were many reasons why a mother might return to her own parents. Then these would take the same position as teacher and nurse which was normally occupied by the father's parents (I. 3. C. 5).

Great Grand Parent and Great Great Grandparend Class

603 The more ancient relatives existed only as dependents, cared for in any family which could find room for them. Their unimportance is expressed by the fact that, in their titles, no distinction is made as to sex or line and the remotest, the great great grandparents, are called by the children "younger siblings" in allusion, one informant thought, to their second childhood.

Spouse Class

562 462 Though the man was the head of the family and residence was at his village, there was much emphasis, in daily life, on the equality of the spouses. Each was supreme in a special field of activity and, in many phases of ceremonial life, one could not participate without the other. At home labor, the patriarch directed the men and his wife the women. He disposed of gifts of meat and cultivated crops; she of cooked food and wild crops and the relatives of both shared equally in the distribution, subject to the factor of propinquity.

595 Co-wives were not frequent except with older men who had acquired the goods to support them. They were usually sisters and, in that case, there was no formal precedence of the older. They arranged their work and distributed gifts in committee and the husband accepted their joint decision. Wives who were not related were expected to fit into the sister pattern although the colloquial term "she of whom I am jealous" shows that they did not always do it. But there was no hard and fast rule for precedence of the senior wife. The women of the household were left democratically to settle their troubles between them.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

ECONOMICS

511 556 Poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Papago did not hoard property; they did not quarrel about land boundaries; they were constantly giving, as though from an inexhaustible supply. The answer is that the supply, meagre though it was from the modern point of view, was sufficient, for their simple needs and more.

431 Food was the principal gift and food will not keep in that hot country except in dehydrated form. Because of the migratory life, it must be left unguarded in storehouses and caches, subject to attack by animals or enemies. Better to dispose of any surplus while it was available and palatable and thus invest in good will! And anything but starvation rations was considered a surplus. The [262] standard meal was corn meal gruel: luxuries much beyond that were donated with lavish hand and never missed.

Giving became the regular Papago investment and the franker individuals say so. It never reached the extravagant proportions demanded in the Plains for all Papago life was in a gentler key. But one who gained the reputation of stinginess had damned his prospects in village and family life while the lavish giver not only achieved honor but had a continual income pouring in. For all gifts were returned, in equal quantity and more. The constant exchange [438] of goods in the form of gifts was the Papago equivalent for trade and merged only occasionally into trade in the stricter sense. Papago economics involves principally the study of groups which had gift relations.

The center of the system was the patriarchal family which, rather than the individual, must be taken as the unit both of property holding and of gift exchange.The family was a business concern, producing and disposing of goods under the direction of its male and female heads, and such production meant a full time occupation. This was not the sort of society where the men, when not hunting or [461] fighting, had the privilege of leisure: the men were day laborers like 562 the women. All rose with the morning star, rested in the heat of noon and did not stop work until dark. It was slow motion labor, for the heat forbids haste. But it was unremitting. Industry was the prime virtue and no one could get a mate or keep one without it.

221 462 We have noted the division of labor between male and female: a division so sharp that it kept the two sexes in separate groups during

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

daylight hours. But there was also a division according to season and age. In summer, the older men did the farm work, with help from the young men and women at planting and harvest. The young men did some hunting, travelling, ditch building, house building and practiced for the races on which the old men bet. Women, in summer, gathered wild foods, the older women cooked and made baskets while the young ground corn and fetched wood and water. In winter the old men made rope, tools and weapons while the young men fought and hunted deer: the old women still cooked and the young ones were, as always, the wood and water carriers.

The distinction between young and old approached that in a modern society between laboring and employing classes. Heavy labor, everywhere, was done by the young, under the direction of the old. Young men had no voice in council or even in the planning of a war raid, an occasion when, in some Indian societies, they were so prominent. Young women did not manage their households. Youth was considered unfit for thinking and planning and, both in the household and the village, the commanding positions belonged to the old.

It was also the old who practiced the special crafts whose returns went beyond the scope of gifts and became commercial goods. The constant labor required of youth left little time for the long process of learning pottery, netting, mat plaiting, skin dressing and weaving by the Papago process of imitation and repetition. Men and women did not "sit down" to these crafts until middle age. Coiled basketry was the one exception to the rule, for baskets were a necessity and every girl had to learn enough about them to make one during her puberty seclusion. But the other specialties often were not begun until there were grown sons and daughters-in-law in the home to carry on the day's work.

Among the mens' specialties, deer hunting was the most common and was the only one practiced by young men. It meant a long apprenticeship beginning in boyhood and involving the learning of magic and the clever use of the deerhead disguise. One man in a family was sometimes the hunter while the others attended to the land. The other arts were tool making, weaving and skin dressing. The last two are handed over to women in tribes where all the men are busy with war and hunting. But young Papago women had a full time occupation as mere carriers and neither war nor hunting was a major occupation. The women's arts were the plaiting of sleeping mats and of ceremonial baskets, the netting and dying of the intricately made carrying net, the weaving of bands on the belt loom and the making of pottery.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

463 A specialist exercised his craft as his part of the family work and
421 was excused from other labor. He supplied the family with as much
512 of his product as was needed, for use and gifts and the rest he traded His product might be considered individual property in that no one but he had the right to dispose of it and that payment was made to him personally. But he gave the payment to the family just as the younger members gave their labor and if he gambled his products, he gave the family the winnings. Papago needs were such that the family unit required the full time labor of all its members and few thought of operating independently.

421 The family owned very little permanent property, the food which
592 was obtained and consumed every year, constituting almost its entire capital. Such other goods as they had were managed for the benefit of all by the heads of the two working groups: the patriarch for the men, his wife for the women. The patriarch directed the building of a new house or camp and traded when necessary for house posts or stone for tools. It was he who decided on gifts of agricultural produce or meat though he might consult with his wife. The wife managed the use of household mats, pots and baskets. When more were needed, she either had them made in the household or traded for them with womens' goods. She decided on the distributions of cooked food and the harvest from the womens' food gathering. Relics of this system can still be seen in the careful way in which the modern Papago family often separates "man's money" and "woman's money" the woman paying for household goods with her baskets and the man for his saddle with home made rope.

422 Since Kino's time, the Papago have begun to own cattle, at first
[462] in the lands near Mexico, later in the north. Cattle are in charge of the men, like house building and agriculture and their care is directed by the family head. He usually delegates one of his sons as cowboy, just as in former times, one was the hunter. If there are few cattle, the one cowboy may take charge of the cattle of several related families who in turn give produce to his family but not to him personally unless they are very modern.

Each individual had, as his personal property, the scanty clothes he wore, the tools and weapons used and probably some paint and gambling sticks. The whole equipment could be carried on his back as a girl's was when she went to her husband's house. But more important was ceremonial property: the shaman's plumes, the animal fetish of the curing singer, the eagle feathers, sea shells or Apache scalp won by the "ripe man". These were the most personal of all property for no one but the owner dared touch them —

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

So I did that way and so did the other girls, all except a few wild ones. When we went to the hills to gather fruits, we went all together and an old woman with us. When we went to the pond with jars on our heads to get water, we went in a group. Sometimes there would be boys there watering their horses. The wild girls would throw gravel at them, then laugh and run. I never did that.

I was a good housekeeper. I did all the cooking and I fetched the water and ground the corn. I could catch the horses, too, and saddle them for my brothers. But I could not go out alone on the desert as they did. Why should I want to? That is man's work and no woman with a right heart wants to be a man. But I was excitable. My heart was not cool. When I had finished my work, I always wanted to race, and I was a good racer; the fastest of all the girls. And I was a gambler. Yes, always I have been a gambler and a lucky one. When I had ground the corn and fetched the firewood for the day, I used to run out to the houses where my girl cousins lived: "Come on. Let's throw dice."

We had dice which we made of sticks, painted black on one side with charcoal from the fire. Every girl had four, and we kept them always with us as we kept our red paint. We sat in a circle, and all the people gathered to watch us and bet on the game. Each girl in turn tapped her sticks on a stone and threw them. Two points if all black, one if all white. And if of different colors, let the next girl throw!

We bet everything on that game. I had baskets which I had made and a mat. My father had brought me shell beads from the River Country and all those things I wagered. My mother did not mind; she was looking on. She would not say a word if I bet everything I had, even my clothes. But I never bet her things or my sisters'. Neither did my father. He bet his own things and he gambled all the time. That was his name, the Gambler.

Once I played against a grown woman from another village. First, I won her red woven girdle, then a whole red dress, then a Mexican scarf. She went back to her house and got everything she had, a basket, a mat, a big water jar. She said she wanted to bet them all, but she would race me on the race track.

So we went to the track and all the people came with us, betting. We chose two men to take charge; a relative of mine for the starter, one of hers for the finisher. I started from one end, she from the other and all the people yelled. But then hers stopped yelling and mine went on. She was not winning. I reached her relatives who stood at the end of the track where she had started, and she was still far from the rope. Her relative had to make mine stop yelling and then he said I had won. I heard her crying that night in the desert because she had lost everything.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

The third brother was called Shining Evening and he was a man-woman. His parents suspected it when he was very young because he never wanted to play with boys, always with girls. So they thought they would test him. They built a little enclosure and in it they put a bow and arrow and some basketry materials. They told the boy to go in there and play, and when he was busy they set fire to the enclosure. They thought they would see which things he saved. Out he came, carrying the basketry materials. They tried the same thing again and again after that, and it was always the same. The man-woman was very pleasant, always laughing and talking, and a good worker. She was so strong! She did not get tired grinding corn as I did, so sometimes she did it for me. That was something my husband could never do even though he was kind. It would look too bad for a man to grind corn. I found the man-woman very convenient.

I lived happily with those people and of course we never quarreled. Why should we do that? And strangely, soon after I had been married, I became dangerous again, for the first time since I had been danced. We told the medicine man and he thought, perhaps, I should be danced again and my husband, too. Who knows what danger there had been without our knowing it. So they danced us.

But this time it was different. I did not have to work hard because I had been through all that. I did not even have to sleep in the Little House. I slept in the big house next to my mother-in-law. My husband slept on the other side of the house. Every night we danced, Ah, we danced, we danced. All my life I had wanted to do that. In the daytime I could sleep. Sometimes I slept all day and waked in what we call the red evening to hear the rattle outside the house. Have you heard the rattle when our people come up in the night to dance? Ah, good!

The old people watched me until it was over, and then my husband and I ate the white clay together, and we could touch our heads and have salt in our food and go on as before.

One day my father-in-law said: "Should not our daughter-in-law be tattooed? Her face does not look right, all light, with no black on it." So my mother-in-law tattooed these four marks I have on my chin. I lay on the floor with my head in her lap and she pricked the lines with cactus thorns. Then she rubbed in greasewood soot. It hurts frightfully but if you keep still, the marks come out narrow and clear. If you wiggle they are all blurred. I did not wiggle, but I have seen girls whose chins just look as though black juice had run down them. Mine came out very pretty and, for four days, while they healed, I ate only cactus joints to make them blue.

That fall our people were going over to race with the River People

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended family. One type of kinship terminology which is dying out on the Reservation has been correlated by Underhill with a former sib structure.[11] The several different terms for "father" in this terminology seem to have indicated patrilineal lines. The significance of these terms today is difficult to determine, for they are being replaced rapidly by the generalized term for "father" (*auk*) or, in many families, by "daddy." It is safe to say that no well-developed clan concept survives and that the present concept of the family and the extended family has not changed radically within the past generation.

The old people say that, when I'itoi created men, he called the first one a Coyote, the next a Buzzard, the third a Coyote, and so on until all mankind (i.e., all the Papago) was divided into two groups. The younger people today hardly know to which group they belong, and some say that they belong to both; even for the elders the terms seem to have little significance except on ceremonial occasions, when they form the basis of standardized joking.

The Papago have no other formalized humor as do many Indian tribes, but jokes and teasing are the salt of daily life. Low and spontaneous laughter rises whenever the Desert People are gathered together, or the occasion is indeed a serious one.

MAKING A LIVING TOGETHER

In Papago society the household is the fundamental economic unit, and each member does his share of the work necessary to make a living in this difficult environment. Men are responsible for tilling the fields and caring for the livestock; women manage the domestic essentials; children help with the household or farm chores according to their strength and ability. The division of labor is thus fairly definite, but all work together when necessary. Women and children help bring in the crops and gather wild plants and fruits. Boys of ten or eleven often plow.

Both men and women make articles for sale or barter. Most women know how to weave baskets; a few make pottery or occasionally sew for others. The men tan leather and braid ropes of rawhide or horsehair. Money earned by handicrafts is thought of as belonging to the artisan rather than to the group, but in a society where incomes are low, a considerable proportion of such earnings must be used for family needs.

Since the introduction of wage work, some members of the family, particularly the young adults, are beginning to feel less obligation to contribute to the household. Most of them, however, continue to help, either bringing home provisions or sending money. Wage-earners who do not assist the family are

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

on the Gila, with its low gradient and adjacent plains, were ordinarily mild and not devastating, there was little or no difficulty involved in the relocation of fields.

Size of Cultivated Plots

It is certain that the average amount of land cultivated per person among the Pima and Papago is now considerably higher than formerly. Advent of the whites and introduction of the motive for growing a surplus for profit greatly stimulated development of additional acreages; aboriginal farming was purely for subsistence. Also, with Spanish contact the Pimans secured farm animals and this called for the cultivation of appreciably increased crops, made possible chiefly by the availability of improved Spanish implements as well as new and different crops, especially wheat and barley. Work for wages, with its concomitant extensive trade at stores by cash and barter, has so greatly distorted the original economic picture that it is now very difficult to reconstruct the ancient situation regarding land utilization; this applies particularly to the Pima. Knowledge of our informants in this respect was quite fragmentary.

Anciently, each Pima family had its own plot of ground and planted all the crops it could take care of, for then as now these Indians had a surplus of agricultural land above subsistence needs. Its size bore no close relation to size of the family but depended rather upon the amount of land immediately available, the man's industry in farming and whether or not he hunted much game. In early historic times the average cultivated acreage for the Pima family was two to five acres; for the Papago family, one-fourth to two acres (for a detailed discussion of this subject see Chapter III).

Division of Labor

The sharp division of labor between male and female among the Papago kept the two sexes in separate groups during daylight hours. Season and age also entered into the

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

arrangement, heavy labor invariably being done by the young, supervised by their elders. This has been discussed in some detail by Underhill.[20]

Among both Papago and Pima, farm work such as planting, cultivating and irrigating was accepted as man's work, and was exclusively his responsibility, but gathering the harvest was woman's acknowledged task and she took over completely the job of caring for the resultant crops, although she might be assisted by men, old men particularly. In 1871 Grossmann[21] wrote that Pima women did all the work in the field except plowing and sowing. In summer the older men worked skin clothing, wove, and did the farming, assisted with the planting by young men; in winter they made rope, tools and weapons, and built houses if needed. The younger men built or repaired ditches and houses, and, in winter, fought enemies or hunted, especially deer. In some cases one man of a family was the hunter, the others caring for the land, as deer hunting involved the development of a specialized technique entailing a long apprenticeship begun in boyhood. The modern counterpart of the deer hunter is the cowboy who cares for the cattle belonging to the family. During the summer an important feminine task was gathering and preparing wild foods for storage, and seasonally women would be away from home all day securing such foodstuffs. Throughout the year, older women cooked and worked basketry, plaited mats or made netting, while the young ground corn and carried wood and water. Only the old practiced the special crafts. Relation of the sexes to the several phases of agricultural work is treated separately in the appropriate section.

[20] Underhill, *loc. cit.*
[21] Grossmann, *loc. cit.*

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NV28
Pima NV29

injury from rain. Cotton and gourds were usually gathered after all other crops had been taken in, although if corn were late in ripening it might be harvested last.

Division of Labor

Planting, cultivating and irrigating Piman crops were regarded as men's work, in which women played a minor role. Quite the reverse was true with harvest, for it was regarded as essentially women's responsibility and men did only the heaviest of the labor, but both might work together in the field. However, with the introduction of wheat culture, some modification occurred, for the harvesting of wheat fell largely to the men, although assisted by women. Harvesting anciently was often done reciprocally, several families within a geographic area helping each other. To invite relatives to assist with harvest was regarded as favoring them. For their labor they were asked to help themselves to a share of the produce, but what they took was governed by what they considered they could repay in turn. When widows assisted, they were given a portion of the crop in payment.

* * *

Maize

Gathering, Roasting, Drying and Storing

The Papago planted a single crop of maize, which they harvested in October; the Pima grew two crops, the first maturing in late June, the second in October. In no case was there any difference in the types of corn grown at the two plantings, nor was there any difference in the purpose for which the two crops were used.

Corn was considered mature and ready to harvest when most of the stalks and husks were thoroughly dry. It was then time to begin even though some ears were still green. The variety of native corn that had been planted first would be ready to harvest first, regardless of color, for no one variety ripened more quickly than any other.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

 Pi Pa

This was women's acknowledged work in which the man seldom participated, and after corn was shelled it was woman's work alone to care for it. At present many of the Pima and Papago have mechanical shellers. Shelled corn was placed on a mat or cloth and again allowed to dry for two to three days. Grains were then winnowed in a large basket by tossing into the air to remove chaff. Or this might be done by tilting the basket about four feet above ground and allowing the kernels to fall gradually on a sotol mat or cotton cloth. Corn was always shelled before being stored, then was ground into meal as needed. [462] 251 252

Storing Food Corn

Crops were never hidden by the Pima for protection from enemies. These Indians usually stored their corn, after shelling, in large cylindrical nest-like bins, or granaries, made of crudely coiled, thick bunches of arrowweed, which were very durable and lasted for years. They needed no base, since the roof or platform upon which they rested served this purpose, although a layer of arrowweed was spread on the spot where they were to stand. Over this granary was a low, cone-shaped roof of arrowweed extending beyond the rim, and covered with dirt. A cotton cloth was sometimes placed beneath the roof and over the contents of each bin. Varying considerably in size, the average bin was about eighteen inches tall by three feet in diameter. Their manufacture has been described in detail and figured by Kissell.[4] Pi Pa 251 415 286

These Pima granaries were usually placed on the roof, less commonly in groups on a platform of logs to keep them above the ground. Small sticks were placed across these logs and covered with arrowweed branches, which also served as a base for the bottomless bins. In post-Spanish times, groups of such granaries on a platform were enclosed by a low fence for protection against stock. In this connection, the reader is referred to Emory, Russell, Clark and Kissell.[5]

[4] Kissell, *Basketry of the Papago and Pima*, pp. 173-90.

[5] Russell, *op. cit.*, fig. 4; Clark, *Lessons from Southwestern Indian Agriculture*, fig. 12; Kissell, *op. cit.*, figs. 29, 30; Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NV28
Pima NV29

Paper bread was unknown to the Pimans. Corn pollen was never utilized, even ceremonially. One informant said that, as a boy, he used to see people putting ears heavily infested with corn smut on coals to roast, then taking off the smut and eating it without other preparation. The standard Pima meal consisted largely of cornmeal gruel.

Pumpkins

Time of Harvest

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the Papago made one planting of pumpkins—when the rains began in July, and this was harvested in October; the Pima made two plantings—the first when mesquite began to leaf out in spring, the second immediately after sahuaro harvest in July. The first sowing was harvested in late June, the second in October. All their varieties of pumpkins were sowed at the first planting, only cushaws in the second. Piman pumpkins were usually harvested after maize and teparies had been put away, for many were still unripe at the maize harvest. Color of the fruit indicated whether they were mature enough to be gathered, the cushaw type usually ripening first, the cheese pumpkin last. It was known that light frosts would do them no damage, so it was not necessary to bring them in before that time.

Method of Harvest

Anciently it was woman's work to gather the pumpkins. Varieties were sorted into separate piles in the field to avoid a second handling, then carried to the house in a burden basket. Neither Papago nor Pima left a portion of the vine attached to the fruit, as was done by some tribes, but in severing pumpkins from the vines care was taken not to break the fruit stalk away from the pumpkin itself, otherwise it would rot readily.

Storing

The average family had a crop of sixty to one hundred pumpkins, which were stored immediately after gathering.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

less quickly than pink beans. However, they were not allowed to remain long in the field after ripening, due to possible damage by rain.

Method of Harvesting and Storing

The entire process of harvesting teparies and kidney beans, from pulling the vines out of the ground to sealing the seeds in ollas for storage, was regarded as women's work, although men might help if not otherwise engaged.

Brown and white teparies and pink beans were planted in separate plots and harvested separately. The plants were grasped just above the ground line, pulled up, roots and all, and placed in piles. They were then taken to the threshing floor and allowed to dry for from three to six days. The threshing floor was prepared either in the field or near the house by removing weeds from a designated area, then leveling. After it was swept clean it was hardened by tamping with the feet; if dry the soil was first moistened. All tepary vines of one variety, or the pink bean vines, were placed on this threshing ground in a pile and beaten with a pole (five or six feet long and about one and one-half inches thick) so as to knock the ripe pods off the vines. Vines were removed to one side of the floor and allowed to remain for several days to permit drying of pods not fully mature, then beaten a second time.

Pods were placed in small piles on a mat or cloth and beaten with a short stick, about two feet long, to release seeds from the hulls. Many hulls were blown out by the wind, and most of the remaining ones scraped away with the fingers. Final winnowing was done at the threshing floor by allowing the beans to fall gradually from a large shallow basket, held about four feet in the air, to a sotol mat or cotton cloth, most of the chaff meanwhile blowing away with the wind.

Pink beans were harvested in the same manner as teparies. They were said to be ripe when "the moon had gone around twice" after planting. At the home of informant

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pi Pa 244 empty pods were then removed by hand and seeds winnowed to remove chaff. The Pima now plant limas in June or July and they yield better if not irrigated too heavily.

Limas and black-eyed beans were usually planted in smaller amounts than teparies and pink beans, hence the quantity of seeds secured at any one picking was small.

Pi Pa [462] As with teparies and pink beans, the harvesting of limas and black-eyed beans was accepted as woman's work.

Seed Selection

Pi Pa 242 There was practically no selection of seed for limas or cowpeas, and seed to be planted was simply taken out of the general supply with no discrimination other than discarding shriveled ones. Informants said one never got poor seed of these crops unless it was immature as the result of injury by early frost. The only precaution was to use fresh seed, for it was known that these beans lost viability rather quickly.

Chick Peas and Lentils

Pi Pa 244 Both chick peas and lentils were recognized by the Pimans as introduced crops. Pima and Papago grew chick peas, or *garbanzos*, to only a small extent, and lentils even less, although both were regarded as very nutritious. The chick pea is well adapted to arid and semi-arid regions and matures in about ninety days. Both Pima and Papago made a single planting, sowing them as a winter crop from November first to February and harvesting in April or May, consequently they required little moisture. It has been reported that *garbanzos* will endure a temperature of 13° F. without being injured. People began to harvest chick peas when mesquite beans were about ripe, and picked them progressively. The first pods to ripen were simply rubbed by hand. When the plants began to dry up, tops were cut off with a sickle or pulled up, piled and dried for a few days, then threshed by beating with a stick or trampling. They were then winnowed, dried further and stored in a sealed large gourd or olla. On

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Ginning, Plucking, Spinning and Weaving

It was woman's work to gather cotton, but weaving was an old man's art although women might help at times.[13] Weaving of cotton was a practice common to both Pima and Papago.

One method of ginning cotton was to turn upside down a thick pottery vessel about fifteen inches in diameter made specifically for the purpose. A mat of cotton bolls was stretched over the bottom of the vessel and a smooth arrowweed stick (about eighteen inches long and three-fourths of an inch wide), from which the bark had been peeled, was rolled over the cotton, working the seeds out of the lint and toward the edge of the mat, where they dropped over the side of the bowl. This was continued until all seeds were removed.

After ginning, the cotton was spread on a cleaned smooth spot on the ground and plucked with the plucking bow in the same manner as that described by Spier[14] for the Maricopa. This was a scraped stick of arrowweed two to three inches long, strung taut to form a small bow. The bowstring was held close to a mat of cotton and plucked, the string thereby catching up the cotton fibers which were wrapped into a tight roll around the string due to its vibration. When pulled off the string, it was rolled into a loose yarn on the thigh, and was then ready for spinning. One Pima informant insisted that ginning was also done with the plucking bow, the fiber gradually being plucked away, leaving the seeds. In all probability the plucking bow was not aboriginal among these Indians.

Spinning was done by women on a simple spindle, and this process was described by Emory[15] in 1846. Although weaving was not highly developed among the Pimans, it was done on a loom, by old men, in a manner described for the Pima in 1852 by Bartlett. Such a loom, as well as a spindle, is figured and described by Russell.[16]

14 Spier, *Yuman Tribes*, p. 113.
15 Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
16 Bartlett, *Narrative*, II, 255; Russell, *Pima*, p. 148-51.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Dyeing

Pi Pa 386 824 Cotton was dyed buff by dipping in a dark buff ocher high in ferric oxide, but this was used only for the selvage thread. Cotton fiber dipped into a decoction made from the roots of curly dock *(Rumex crispus)*, an introduced species, as well as other species of this genus, took on a yellow color, and these roots were said to yield a darker color when the plant was in flower. Informants said roots of the native *cañaigre (Rumex hymenosepalus)*, from which all dirt had been removed, were crushed, then boiled to yield a yellowish dye solution for cotton. Fresh mesquite gum was boiled with this dye to make it fast.

Gourds

Time and Method of Harvest and Storage

Pi Pa [462] 249 Pima and Papago made a single planting of gourds. Ordinarily it was man's task to plant, but woman's to cultivate, carry water for them if necessary and harvest gourds when ripe, although men might assist in any of these stages. This single planting was made by both peoples—by the Pima in late March or early April, the Papago in July. A little more than three months was required for them to ripen.

Gourds were all gathered at once rather than progressively, and this while the plants were still green. Women gathered and carried them to the dwelling in a burden basket or cloth, cutting each one off the vine with a sharp stone. Care had to be exercised in handling them until dried lest they become bruised. When harvested, they were laid away to dry throughly before being prepared for use, usually being placed in a pile and covered with weeds or grass. They were selected by shape according to the purpose for which they were to be utilized.

There was no selection of seed from specific shapes of gourd to propagate particular types, although formerly it was customary to bind a piece of bark or cloth around them while growing in order to secure certain shapes.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Preparation for Use as Vessels and Rattles

Gourds were prepared for use as follows: First they were Pi Pa 415 dried thoroughly, otherwise decay would occur in the process of preparation. The bitterness was drawn out by filling with water through an opening cut at the stem end, then allowing it to stand for three days so that the fleshy interior might decay. Most of the pulp was removed by working with a stick, then the gourd refilled and again allowed to stand for three days, after which as much of the remaining pulp as possible was scraped out. This process was repeated as often as necessary, or until the vessel ceased to impart any taste of bitterness to the water allowed to stand in it. Finally, the vessel was thoroughly rinsed with water several times and was ready for use.

Sometimes gourds which had been prepared as above were baked in live embers for two or three days to harden the shell, as this made them more durable when used as containers. It also gave them a glossy appearance since the outer surface peeled off.

Gourds or their seeds were never eaten. They were used Pi Pa 415 534 for canteens, dippers, containers, storage vessels, ceremonial rattles and masks. For storing seeds, the hole made at the end of the neck was plugged with a stick. To prepare a gourd for use as a rattle the end of the neck was cut off, then cleaned as described above, and the gourd partly filled with pebbles taken from an ant hill. A wooden handle was fitted into the opening and secured with the gummy secretion of creosote bush or arrowweed. Gourds to be used as dippers or dishes were cut lengthwise by making a continuous row of holes with an awl the whole length of the fruit, then snapping it in two.

Devil's Claw

A single sowing of Devil's claw, or unicorn plant (*Martynia louisiana*), was made by both Papago and Pima, after sahuaro Pi Pa 449 harvest, and the pods gathered before frost. This was woman's [462]

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

work, as was the cultivation and harvesting. Plants were quite drought resistant.

Only the white-seeded form was grown, as its pods had longer, finer-grained and deeper black strips of epidermal tissue, and therefore more suitable for use in basketry. They were planted in hills about six feet apart with four or five seeds to the hill, in holes about six inches deep, although the seeds were covered to a depth of only two inches.

Pods were gathered as they matured, about the time maize was ripening, but all must be gathered before frost to prevent the black color of the pod from fading. Fruits were ready to harvest when the dry epidermis peeled off readily. The ripe pods were gathered and laid out in piles in the field to dry, and informants said they had seen their mothers spread wood ashes over such piles. When thoroughly dry the pods were hooked together to form large clumps or balls, and stored in a rain-proof building, since weathering affected their color.

Before removing the strips of epidermis for use in basketry, the pods were buried in moistened ground over night to facilitate the stripping. However, more recently some merely plunge the pods in boiling water to aid in removing this tissue. These strips were tied in bundles and stored in baskets or ollas. The process of preparing and utilizing *Martynia* in basketry has been discussed in detail by Kissell.[17]

Seeds of the unicorn plant were sometimes eaten but were of little importance as food. They were removed from the pods at the time the strands of epidermis were stripped, and were dried and stored in a small sealed olla.

Wheat

Time of Harvest

Pima and Papago planted wheat any time from November to February, and harvested in May or early June. However, late sowings usually produced small plants and a poor yield.

[17] Kissell, *Basketry of the Papago and Pima*, p. 202.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Informants said the best crop was obtained when planted about the first of January, as there was then little danger from frost injury when plants were coming into head in April. However, at the Sacaton Experiment Station, November plantings of the principal varieties of wheat for twenty-two years usually have given higher yields than later plantings, and in only two seasons did they suffer any freezing damage after heading. At present it is customary for the Pima to turn cattle into the fields to pasture on the green wheat plants, then irrigate in January, after which the wheat tillers well (puts forth new shoots around the base of the original stalk) and is ready to harvest about the last week in May. Barley can be pastured three or four times and still give a crop, wheat only once, so it is considered superior to wheat for this purpose. Both are first pastured when about a foot high. Pima like to plant their barley in late October and harvest in late May, as there is little danger of frost damage to this crop.

As indicated in an earlier chapter, until recent years large numbers of Papago visited the Gila Pima to take part in the wheat harvest, and the Pima paid them for their labor in wheat. Informants reported that some Pimas became so dependent on the Papago harvest help that the wheat crop would shatter from overripeness if their special Papago families were late in arriving or failed to come at all.

Method of Harvest

Harvesting wheat was usually done by both men and women working together, and reciprocal help at wheat harvest was formerly quite common. If a relative or friend assisted in planting he was given only his meals during the period of his labor, but if he helped with harvest he was invariably given a share of the crop. Since the same spot was used for threshing year after year, the threshing floor was repaired before cutting the crop. For such a floor, a low dike was thrown around an area about thirty-five feet in

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pi Pa 252 scarce when May came around, and it was common to gather matured heads of wheat, beat out the grains and eat them before the general harvesting was begun.

Watermelons and Muskmelons

Time and Method of Harvest

Pi Pa 244 [262] The Pima were very fond of watermelons, moderately so of muskmelons. The Pima usually made two plantings of both, the first ready for harvesting in late June, the second in October, although muskmelons were a little later in maturing than were watermelons. The single Papago planting ripened in October. Watermelons were tested for ripeness by their sound when thumped; also they were considered mature when the tendril on the stem of the melon dried and curled up. However, they often were eaten before completely ripe. Ripening of muskmelons was determined by their odor and resistance to pressure. Pima informants said when the first planting of watermelons had matured the fruit was picked, then the vines irrigated and in about six weeks there was a second, although smaller, crop.

Pi Pa [462] Either men or women picked the melons when harvesting, and put them in a pile. A few melons at a time were placed on a mat or cotton cloth laid on the ground, and carried to the house or storage pit, this usually being done by the men.

Storage

Pi Pa 251 The Pimans stored a goodly supply of watermelons for winter use, but did not bury them in sand as did the lower Colorado River tribes, although informants had heard of the Yuma and Maricopa doing so. Formerly they were stored in the oval pit with gable roof as described under "Storage of Pumpkins," but more recently Pimans have used a cubical underground pit about four feet in each dimension, slanting inward at the bottom on all sides and built on a hill if possible. Poles were placed on the bottom of the pit and covered with cornstalks, on which were placed alternate

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

rested, though at an inconceivably late hour for that country, for the sun had been nearly half an hour above the horizon. The men had gone to plough the fields, but lots of women and girls and a few young men had gathered, waiting for me to get up. They had brought many objects, which they understood I wanted to buy. As soon as I opened my eyes two kinds of the medicine-man's rasping outfits, women's games, a splendid bull-roarer (see page 95), and other tempting things were presented for my approval.

The attitude of the natives was an unlooked-for delight. With the exception of the men who were unavoidably absent, the remainder of the four or five families that made up the rancheria seated themselves around me, showing much interest in my presence and eager to sell what they had brought. I distributed candy to every one, and much enthusiasm was evinced, the utmost good-will prevailing. Two elderly sisters, talkative and impulsive, were very intelligent in giving explanations of the articles offered for sale. One of them sat down on the ground and showed me how the medicine-man's rasping-sticks were used, at the same time rendering the appropriate song. The other one, seizing a pair of wooden tweezers, which are used in pulling off certain edible cactus fruit, proceeded in a most graphic manner to demonstrate how the spines are rubbed off by the same implement, whereupon the fruit is placed in a basket and taken home to be cooked. Her quiet pantomime, full of humor, made matters clear beyond doubt unto the smallest detail, without her uttering a single word. She would

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

die from it, having acquired it through contagion. Although in no way a prison as to its restrictions, nevertheless the school as at present conducted does them harm physically. The confinement to which they have not been accustomed seems to undermine their health. In these days of advanced methods of teaching some remedy for this condition no doubt will be found. One absolutely necessary change is to alter the construction of the school-houses so as to make them sanitary through unlimited access of air. Even the Presbyterian Mission, which has been of considerable benefit to the Indian, has erected outside of Tucson incredibly inappropriate buildings, made of brick and substantial, to be sure, but singularly out of place in the glare and heat of the Arizona desert. Prof. R. H. Forbes, of Arizona University, told me that in the White Mountain Apache school, at White River, ninety per cent of the children have tuberculosis, chiefly glandular. This statement was made to him by the physician in charge. Would it not be better to leave the Indians uneducated than to proceed in this manner?

Not long ago the makai (medicine-men) had as many as five wives each, while the usual number for the ordinary man was two. At present it is very rare to find a Papago with more than one wife, and the average number of children in a family is usually no less than eight, but the mortality among infants is great. The position of woman is equality with man. To be sure, the man never carries burdens—that is relegated to the woman's domain—but she is the mistress of the house. She is,

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

252 Cooking was done in a small roofless enclosure out-
412 side. There the woman kept her mealing slab—a rectangu-
415 lar block of granite hacked into shape with another stone. She had a mortar made of a section of cottonwood log, a large porous jar for drinking water, and a few smaller pots for cooking. Most of her utensils were baskets, for this migratory people found pottery a burden. There were large willow baskets for storage, others for winnowing, for parching seeds, and for eating and drinking. Willow baskets, tightly woven and water-tight when wet, took the place of dishes. Some households owned no pottery except the water-jar.

291 Clothing, in the older times, was of skins, the man
302 wearing a breechcloth of buckskin, the woman a buckskin skirt, while those who could trade for cotton had a one-piece, wrap-around cotton skirt. Both sexes wore their hair long but tied it up with a strand of grass while at work. For warmth they often covered their bodies with grease, and on ceremonial occasions added to the grease
[304] red and white paint. Women were tattooed with four lines from mouth to chin, in zigzags, dots, or merely straight lines.

291 The Papagos were a sandal-wearing people. For long journeys they made sandals, first of basketry materials and later of cowhide, but while at home they went barefoot. Occasionally we hear of the rabbit skin blanket which was so long known among their neighbors both of Arizona and California.

462 Papago women, busy with basketry, pottery, and the gathering of wild foods, did little work at agriculture, so the men took care of the fields and did the hunting. They also had to make frequent war expeditions to pursue marauding Apaches who raided their villages to take away crops, women, and later cattle and horses. Men also made trading expeditions to the Pimas and into Mexico. As a
535 means of acquiring wealth in these primitive times gam-
556 bling should not be overlooked, for success in the ancient

233 with this estimate Robert Roether, reservation cattle buyer,
433 is of the opinion that from 25 to 30 families own more than
434 100 head of breeding cows. Both of the above estimates are
422 higher than the estimate provided by the Bureau of Indian
Affairs.

178 Agriculture. Life on the Papago reservations has
433 always depended, and still depends, upon multiple sources of family subsistence and income. The original pattern was a combination of hunting, gathering, and flood water farming. After 1700, hunting and gathering gradually gave way to cattle raising which, in combination with flood water farming, provided subsistence and some cash income. Farming is now declining and there is being established a new combination: cattle raising and wage work.

241 Flood water farming still persists, however, in spite of periodic drought, back-breaking work, and low
[462] yields. Wherever it occurs today it is usually an activity
[887] of older men who raise a small plot of corn, beans, squash,
[434] and sometimes winter wheat, to supplement their income from
[182] cattle, thus making it possible to live on the reservation the year around and according to the traditional Papago way of life.

Cash crop or commercial farming, as will be seen later, have not appealed to the Papago since competition from non-Indian farmers and the lack of running water require

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Males Compared With Females. There are 1094 more men than women in the Papago labor force and this, of course, is accounted for by the 1094 women who are housewives. The relative distribution of women and men as between skilled and unskilled work is about the same. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find that in actual numbers there are as many skilled and semi-skilled jobs for women on the reservation as there are for men. Preferential employment of Indians on reservations obviously works to the very decided advantage of Papago women where 51 have found skilled and semi-skilled jobs as compared with only 22 in similar capacities off the reservation (see Table 18).

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As might be expected, proportionately more men than women earn their principal income from agricultural employment; 66% compared with 43%. The difference is to be found in the relatively large number of Papago women engaged in domestic service, a total of 318; about 43% of all working women.

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The Reservation Labor Force. Statistics reported in Tables 16 and 18 show that 50% of the Papagos live on the reservation most of the time but that only slightly more than 31% earn part or all of their living there. About 80% of the reservation workers are in agriculture but it is at this point that our assignment of individuals to categories indicating "major" source of income may be misleading. The 80% of Papago workers who are in agriculture earn their living, with few exceptions, from a combination of reservation and off reservation income, where as the 20% of reservation workers who have non-agricultural employment earn practically their entire income from these jobs. These are the "well to do" Papagos who work for the federal government and the tribe.

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A comparison of on and off reservation workers with those who are not in the labor force is also interesting. About 48% of the total population 19 years of age or over is in the labor force.

When the on reservation adults are separated from the off reservation adults, however, it is found that 42% of those on the reservation are in the labor

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Similar correlations between education and employment apply to workers who have had at least one year in high school. The proportion for the entire administrative population, 19 years of age and older, is 28%. The proportion for on-reservation wage workers is 49%, for unskilled off-reservation wage workers it is 39% and for skilled off-reservation wage workers it is more than 61%.

Papagos who work off the reservation at more or less full time jobs are better educated than those who work on the reservation. The comparative percentages are in table 21.

Table 21. Papago Administrative Population by Place of Employment and Education. Individuals 19 and over, 1959.

Place of Employment	No Education	1-4 Years	5-8 Years	9-12 Years	College	Vocational
On Reservation						
Agricultural	17.3	28.7	35.8	17.3	0.7	0.0
Non-Agricultural	3.0	10.7	36.9	45.2	1.8	2.4
On & Off Reservation						
Agricultural	22.4	30.1	40.4	6.8	0.0	0.0
Off Reservation						
Agricultural						
Seasonal	21.2	32.8	34.0	12.0	0.0	0.0
Permanent	10.1	23.8	51.5	13.9	0.7	0.0
Non-Agricultural						
Unskilled	2.7	10.0	48.2	37.8	0.8	0.6
Skilled	1.4	5.5	11.0	61.6	13.7	6.8

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The differences in level of education between men and women is very slight and for various categories of employment the numbers involved are too small to have any great significance. Men in off-reservation skilled work are, on the whole, better educated than women in the same category with 84% of the men and 78% of the women having better than a ninth grade education. The numbers involved are 42 and 18 respectively. Housewives are better educated than the average

Papago women and this is probably due, as might be expected, to the lack of education found among the women who must support themselves or help support their families in seasonal agricultural work. Women engaged in non-agricultural wage work, which includes the women who work as domestics, are the best educated.

Employment and Age. The significant age differences in employment are given in Table 22. Contrary to heretofore inconclusive evidence, Papagos under forty hold more jobs in off-reservation wage work (agriculture and non-agriculture) in proportion to their numbers than do the older men. The unemployed, however, are definitely younger men: 6.3% as compared to 4.0%. Unearned income (usually welfare) goes to the older people, 17.6% as against 2.4%. There is little or no sex difference in this category.

There is a very high proportion of Papagos over 65 who are receiving unearned income (usually Old Age Assistance): 206 out of a total of 343 (57%).

Table 22. Papago Administrative Population Employment by Age. Individuals 19 Years and Over, 1939.

Type of Employment or Income	Under Forty			Over Forty		
	Total	Number	%	Total	Number	%
Reservation Agriculture	2540	115	4.5	1907	155	8.1
Reservation Wage Work	2540	72	2.8	1907	46	2.4
Off Reservation Wages	2540	1065	41.9	1907	634	33.2
Unemployed	2540	160	6.3	1907	77	4.0
Unearned Income	2540	60	2.4	1907	335	17.6

Employment and Origin. In addition to a low average education, the Papago labor force has the added disadvantage of little or no childhood experience in areas where young people normally have a wide variety of jobs. Approximately 84% of the present Papago labor force originated on the three reservations where opportunities for earning money at odd jobs are practically non-existent. Boys and girls on the reservations, of course, help their families in the home and on

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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"(c) An adequate supply of hot and cold running water shall be provided in all labor camps for bathing and laundry purposes unless otherwise authorized...in which case facilities for heating water shall be provided.

"(e) Facilities for drying clothes shall be provided."[1]

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466 These standards are met only on a few small cotton farms in Pima and Final counties where the farmers have invested in labor efficiency to the extent of installing indoor plumbing for their laborers. In these cases, the facilities for washing and bathing are considerably better than the standards of the suggested labor camp code.

However, if this suggested code were the law of Arizona, over 95% of the growers in both counties would be out of conformance. They provide no washing or bathing facilities beyond a hydrant where workers can obtain water.

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[404] One reason Papago women do not put in a full workweek picking cotton is the amount of time they must spend in the camps washing out clothes in a galvinized tin wash-tub on an old-fashioned wash board. The clothes are hung out to dry on fences and trees in some camps, although most had clothes lines that appeared to be temporary affairs erected by workers rather than camp operators.

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[415] Bathing in southern Arizona labor camps is a major operation. It is a matter of an enameled wash pan and a cloth, or doubling up in a wash-tub. Arizonans poke fun at migrants bathing in irrigation ditches, but a ditch full of water is the most practicable bathtub in the labor camps --the bather can get wet all over. But if the pump isn't running--and cotton isn't irrigated during picking season--there isn't even water in the ditch.

Papagos and most other cotton pickers in the region manage to keep amazingly clean, considering the difficulties they encounter. Small townspeople who turn up their noses at dirty Indians and Okies might try keeping themselves sweet-smelling under camp conditions before criticising (then they would criticise employers).

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 41-42.

465 The standard rate for picking upland cotton in southern Arizona during the 1950 season was $3.00 per 100 pounds. So the average daily wage for Papago men was approximately $6.00, with a range from about $3.85 up to $9.00.

462 465 Papago women apparently are slower pickers than their husbands. They seem to average about 150 pounds a day of upland cotton.[1] This would give them a daily wage of $4.50. For the 5½-day work week Papago men averaged about $33 and their wives about $25. However, since women generally take time off from picking to wash clothes, do some cooking, clean up the cabin, etc., it is likely that many of them earn no more than $12 to $15 per week. There were 17 weeks between September 1, 1950, and the end of the year. The hypothetical average Papago man could have earned some $560 picking cotton over this period. His wife could have added about $200 to $425 depending on how many days in the week she worked. In families with husband and wife picking, income for the season could run $750 to $1,000. It is extremely doubtful if any Papago family actually earned so much.

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461 293 [434] One reason income of the Desert People in the fields is lower than the theoretically possible figure is that they do not seem to put in a full work week. Their work week is nearer 4½ than 5½ days,[2] lumping men and women together. This simply indicates men put in a full 5½ day week, but women only work about half the days in the week. An important factor in time lost from work by the Desert People is liquor. Cotton farmers are almost unanimous in their condemnation of Indian drinking. The usual opinion is Papagos start drinking Friday night, and are unable to work Monday, wobbly Tuesday, at full steam Wednesday. Of course, this picture in farmers' minds has been painted by exceptional individual Papagos and doesn't represent accurately the situation for all Papagos. But it does reflect the great amount of time lost by many Papago individuals because of their drinking habits.

461 796 Another cause of lost working time for Papago harvesters is the religious celebration. Most important is the fiesta of St. Francis in October. Many farmers throw up their hands then, and gripe loudly about families that

[TEXT continues on P. 71]

[1] Only 3 women told the author how much they picked, and 1 worked a short day. They averaged 130 pounds per day.

[2] 8 Papagos in both counties who didn't lose time from drunkenness worked 37 days in the week preceeding their interview, an average of 4.6.

461 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is re-
464 flected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during
picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some
454 quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs
in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the
261 reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the
end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and
beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the
family through some of the months between harvest sea-
sons. The quantity laid in is usually not large,
probably enough for only a month or two.

432 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase
439 most of their clothing while they are at work and earn-
ing money--and are near Anglo shopping centers where
prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and
choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items
are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps
7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing
purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the
871 cotton fields from a need for money, however. There
are some determined parents who are thoroughly con-
vinced both of the necessity for educating their child-
ren and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the
reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by
moving to labor camps so their children may attend pub-
lic schools where they have to learn to compete with
Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of
[181] competition is generally absent from reservation
schools despite the best efforts of teachers because
students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all
toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations
rather than competitiveness.

166 Some older people go to labor camps because there
888 is no one left on the reservation to care for them when
the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I mov-
● [462] ed over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are
the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to
come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] Of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] Of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950--71%.